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"Psychological Moments"

In the Lives of some Great Americans

Improved

OR

MAKING GOOD THE DECLARATION
OF INDEPENDENCE

L. W. BAXTER



"Psychological Moments"

In the Lives of some Great Americans

Improved

OR

Making Good the Declaration
of Independence

By LAURENCE W. BAXTER
of the Philadelphia Bar

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To my Wife and Children

THIS LITTLE BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED
BY THE AUTHOR

Introduction

"PSYCHOLOGICAL MOMENTS" is a pure labor of love. It is the product of some odd moments agreeably employed in the pursuit of happiness and mental diversion while passing a vacation at the farm, amid the joys of summer and the multiple beauties of nature, all contributing to a state of mind in harmony with the thoughts and purpose of the writer.

The phrase "psychological moment," it will be observed, has been used at times as the exact equivalent of "spiritual vision," and the writer claims no infallible judgment in the technically correct use of either. They are employed simply as the best or the most appropriate phrases to describe or to account for those exceptionally brilliant acts or deeds in the lives of some great Americans, as set forth in the following pages, and the writer trusts that they will be so accepted and understood by the reader.

The writer had long entertained the idea that a work of this kind, if kept within proper limits and avoiding superfluous detail, might not be unacceptable to the general reader, as a sort of artificial memory of the greatest, at least of some of the greatest, events in American history. But the selections of those events from the lives of the illustrious dead were not always easily made. When a man's life is so replete with ennobling and exceptional labors, as was Benjamin Franklin's for example, to say which was the best, the brightest, the most important and enduring, the one which might, without impropriety, be ascribed to some "psychological moment," one's judgment wavers, and however carefully he tries to make a correct decision and does finally reach a conclusion, the chances are that it will not meet the approval of all.

What he especially desired to select and present was that series of remarkable and unparalleled deeds and achievements in the lives of certain great Americans who stand pre-eminent even among those to

whom history has awarded the title "Illustrious." He wished to connect them in a way so as to form, as far as possible, a sort of historical and chronological chain of events, showing, at a glance, not only their influence and effect in the formation and development of our governmental policies and purposes from time to time, not only in the direction of the thought and aspirations of the American people, but their legitimate fruitage in the spectacle of the United States, the greatest and most splendid nation in all history, and destined to remain such if—yes, *if*—the political demagogue, mountebank, or any other nondescript, masquerading under the guise of a reformer, is kept where he belongs, and the American statesman and patriot of today remains true to his country's ideals, and forgets not the lessons of the patriot-statesman of the past.

There is a brief discussion of a League of Nations which seemed to come within the purview of this work as a sort of corollary to the proposition discussed by

Mr. Webster in his celebrated reply to Mr. Hayne.

It is not a large book, but if it in any way fulfils the desire expressed in the foregoing paragraphs, the undersigned will feel that his reward is both abundant and complete.

L. W. BAXTER.

Philadelphia, November 1, 1922

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

George Washington

Frontispiece ✓

From the bronze bust of Washington in the Hall of the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia. The bust rests on a circular pedestal on which are carved the words:

FIRST IN WAR,
FIRST IN PEACE,
AND FIRST IN THE HEARTS
OF HIS COUNTRYMEN.

Henry Lee was the author of this famous phrase. It first occurs in a set of resolutions he prepared on the death of Washington in 1799. He then submitted his resolutions to his colleague, John Marshall, for approval; and he, after approving them, and at Lee's request, introduced them in Congress. From this circumstance Marshall himself came to be designated as the author. Marshall, however, steadfastly refused to allow history thus to designate him, but invariably ascribed their authorship to Henry Lee. (For a complete history of the phrase, see *Life of John Marshall*, by Albert J. Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 443-444).

Daniel Webster

41 ✓

Engraved by A. B. Walter. From *Life of Webster*, by Gen. S. P. Lyman. John E. Potter & Co., Philadelphia, 1852.

Harriet Beecher Stowe

58 ✓

A copy of the photogravure of the bust by Miss Durant in 1853. This photogravure, marvelously beautiful and one of the most perfect, appears as a frontispiece in *The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe*, by Annie Fields, and published by the Houghton, Mifflin Company of Boston, Mass. Special permission was kindly granted by that Company to take a copy of the photogravure for use in this book.

Abraham Lincoln

68 ✓

Engraved by John Sartain from a photograph from life. (From "*Life and Times of Abraham Lincoln*," by L. P. Brockett, M. D. Bradley & Co., Philadelphia, 1865.)

"GREAT AMERICANS"

HEREIN CONSIDERED

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"Psychological Moments"

IN THE LIVES OF SOME GREAT AMERICANS

Improved

*Or, Making Good the Declaration
of Independence*

"Psychological Moments"

IN THE LIVES OF SOME GREAT AMERICANS

Improved

It is the lot of some persons to do the big things, and the bigger the deeds the more perfect the skill with which they are done. They are the ones, who, like St. Paul, are never disobedient to the spiritual vision when it crosses their path, but answer its call with an unwavering faith in its truth, realizing in the end an abundant reward. Their experience, of course, is out of the ordinary, and doubtless accounts for the origin of the phrase, "psychological moment," the moment which reveals to its possessor some exceptionally important work to be done, with an exceptional honor and distinction when the service is performed. They are the people whom history praises; whom the thoughtful student studies; whom the statesman endeavors to copy; whom the orator takes for his theme; whom the general reader finds of sur-

passing human interest; and so the world is kept green by their extraordinary deeds and achievements.

Among the great Americans in whose lives are found conspicuous examples of the improvement of "psychological moments," stands BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, printer, editor, philosopher, statesman, diplomat, patriot! Could versatility be more complete?

In recounting the deeds which crowded his useful and eventful life, to which would he have given the distinction of being the one which he had performed in obedience to some spiritual vision or psychological moment? Many might say his most brilliant deed was when he drew lightning from the clouds; that probably would be correct. Franklin, however, never regarded that achievement as his highest distinction. On the contrary, his answer doubtless would have been, if asked, "Read my answers to the members

of the House of Commons who were chosen to examine me on the subject of the repeal of the Stamp Act," not because he achieved on that occasion a tremendous personal triumph, but because of the terrible penalty which the mother country paid for her refusal to adopt his suggestions and the recommendations he gave to the British statesmen at the time—the loss of her American colonies. That examination, with its lessons in government, in political economy, in practical statesmanship, as revealed in his answers, must have afforded him a constant and peculiar satisfaction of having rendered not only a conspicuous service to his own country, but to England as well. Just one question and its answer:

“Q. You say the Colonies have always submitted to external taxes, and object to the right of Parliament only in laying internal taxes; now can you show that there is any kind of *difference between the two taxes* to the colony on which they may be laid?

“A. I think the difference is very great. An *external* tax is a duty laid on commodities imported; that duty is added to the first cost and other charges of the commodity, and when it is offered for sale, makes a part of the price. If the people do not like it at that price, they refuse it; they are not obliged to pay it. But an *internal* tax is forced from the people without their consent if not laid by their own representatives. The Stamp Act says we shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase nor grant, nor recover debts; we shall neither marry nor make our wills, unless we pay such and such sums; and that it is intended to extort our money from us or ruin us by the consequence of refusing to pay it.”

Franklin's life was crowded with brilliant deeds; but the most important of all, it would seem, the one lacking nothing for its completeness, the one that gave him a distinctive place in the sun, was

his examination by the Committee in the House of Commons relative to the repeal of the Stamp Act.

But now another work was to be done, requiring an equally high, if not the highest order of talent. Who was to do it?

When THOMAS JEFFERSON wrote the Declaration of American Independence, the crisis in the affairs of the colonists imperatively demanded a document of just such a character and style. Any less forcible statement of the grievances and wrongs impelling America to a separation from the mother country, or enumerated by a less capable pen, would doubtless have failed of its purpose and fallen flat upon the country. The work, if done well, would constitute an epoch in the evolution and progress of a nation; if not, it might lack the essential inspiration to heroic deeds and continuous courage, and would thus imperil, or might imperil, not only the life of its author, but

the lives of all those who were engaged with him in the arduous but glorious task of achieving liberty without tyranny, and the right to rule as freemen should, making their own laws, subject to no others.

That the work was well done all the world admits. That it could have been done better, who has ever claimed? It is such a tribute to his greatness, that his eminence, as a statesman, scholar and writer, in the convention which adopted it, is acknowledged by all. He drew it from out his own intellectual resources, it is said. And yet Franklin was there, a member of the committee, and at the time the most talked-about man in all the world; but he does not appear to have offered even the slightest suggestion in the way of subject-matter, or as to the style in which it should be couched. And Adams was there, the brilliant John Adams, with his wealth of knowledge and readiness to command it, likewise a member of the committee; but he too, for aught that appears to the contrary, left the preparation and the composition of that

world-famous document entirely to Jefferson, who, at the time, was only thirty-three years of age.

Thus did Jefferson improve an opportunity, which might properly be called a "psychological moment," and that, too, without the benefit of a precedent to guide or guard him in the construction of the instrument. It is true that certain ones have claimed that John Milton's writings furnished the key as well as the form of the Declaration of Independence. But did Jefferson ever acknowledge it? He was too great a man not to give credit to whom credit was due; and all the world knows that he placed his authorship of that document upon a plane even higher than the highest office in the gift of the people, which he afterwards filled, that of President of the United States. He had a right to feel proud of that work; it was destined to be an epoch-making document. He did not intend it simply as the forerunner of a revolution no longer to be resisted, but as an instrument to estab-

lish or to aid in the establishment of a new order of government, in which the people were to be supreme, and subject to no laws except those which they themselves should make through their own representatives duly chosen for that purpose. The ancient despotisms and governments were based upon the principle or theory that the monarch was supreme and the people subordinate, with no right to make laws, but must obey those decreed or proclaimed by the monarch alone. This principle is not wholly extinguished, but exists in a shadowy way in all monarchical countries, and its poison was the essential factor in the downfall of Germany and the ruin of her throne in the late world-war. Some men fail when put to the supreme test; but not Jefferson. He did his work with such marvelous skill and completeness, that he must ever rank as one of the most illustrious men America has yet produced.

But there was an opportunity which might, with exceptional precision, be called a "psychological moment" in the life of JOHN ADAMS, a moment, which many might think quite the equal in importance of that which Jefferson so promptly improved—the naming of Washington as the Commander-in-Chief of the American forces—a contribution to the success of the patriot cause in its value impossible to over-estimate. It appears that when that question came up for decision, or rather for discussion, John Adams, after several names had been suggested of which none created any enthusiasm, saw at once how fatal the consequences might be if a mistake in that direction should be made at the beginning. In his unerring vision of the future he saw a prolonged conflict. He saw infinite troubles and passions that would test the very heart of the patriot cause. He saw the need of a man whose wisdom, judgment, patience, and fadeless faith in the justice of that cause would endure to the end. In short, he saw the man Washing-

ton, the heroic Washington, the victorious Washington, the only man fit for the place, but who had not yet been named. Rising grandly superior to state pride, casting aside any such consideration as unworthy the time or place, appreciating the tremendous responsibilities that the war would entail, having as his highest aspiration the success of the revolution and the independence of his country, after a brief eulogy of the man, he named (according to one or two authorities nominated) George Washington of Virginia as the proper person for that position; and shortly thereafter Washington was unanimously elected as the Commander-in-Chief of the American forces.

It is useless, of course, at this time, to speculate as to what would or might have been the result of the war had not Washington at the beginning been placed in supreme command. His capacity as a military man had already been tested upon many a field. His courage and skill in the conduct of troops in the frontier

wars were without parallel. His name was synonymous with truth, virtue and patriotism. If it were needed that a commander should infuse courage, faith, patriotism, with all their attendant benefits, into the hearts and minds of those for whom he would fight, that man was Washington. He was born for the place and the place was created for him. So it seemed. It is probable that he would have been given the place, in any event, at some time. But when? Ah, "to be or not to be" willing to acknowledge a mistake, and if willing, then instantly to correct it, "that's the question!" Pride, prejudice, ignorance, hatred, jealousy, envy, treachery, no matter what the occasion, station or situation, have been ever the bane of over-selfish, over-proud, over-ambitious individuals, operating in or upon their minds at times so powerfully, that they are willing, it seems, to sacrifice the very cause which they have taken up arms to establish, even to risk their own lives, rather than to see another succeed, if by his success that other is

likely to gain a renown that will cast their own reputations into the shade.

Suppose that Lee, whose treachery to Washington at Monmouth almost wrecked the patriot fortunes, had been given the chief command? What character had Lee to sustain? What reputation could he have given to the patriot cause? Was he not simply an adventurer who had espoused the cause of the patriots? Did his patriotism extend beyond his personal fortunes? And yet he had the effrontery to criticise a man almost infinitely his superior, even Washington himself.

Hesitation is becoming in the mention of Arnold,—the hero of Saratoga, the traitor at West Point. There were evidently two Arnolds, a good and a bad one, struggling under the same skin, each contending for the supremacy according to circumstances. At Saratoga the good Arnold triumphed; at West Point, the bad one. Such a catastrophe to character, reputation and brilliant promise has no

duplicate in American history. Suppose that Arnold had been given the chief command? or Gates? It was not so to be.

All honor to Adams! His fame, like Jefferson's, like Franklin's, is deathless, and his place among the foremost master builders of his country is forever secure.

And what of WASHINGTON, the hero of the revolution, the father of his country? Was there any special moment in his career, fairly distinguishable from all his other acts, that may be called his "psychological moment?" Yes, but it happened when he was about to complete his cabinet, after he had been chosen President of the United States, and will be referred to in connection with that subject. His career as a whole was so great, so unique and exceptional, that it is rather in contrast with others that his greatness may be seen. But with whom should he be compared? With Caesar? Were they not more unlike than like? Their motives

were different; their ambitions were different; their purposes were continents apart. Caesar fought to make Caesar great; Washington, for his country's greatness. Caesar fought for the extension of tyranny; Washington, for the establishment of liberty. Caesar fought that Rome might absorb the rest of the known world; Washington, for the erection of the American Union. Rome, by its very name, inspired terror to other peoples. The American Union is the hope of the world. Nevertheless,

In the enduring qualities of fame,
Washington and Caesar are just the same.

The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, however, while it ended the Revolution, did not establish the American Union, at least not the one prefigured in the Declaration of Independence. That struggle was to come at a later time, not to be settled with powder and shot, but with brighter and keener weapons, oratory and argument.

When the Constitution, or rather the proposed Constitution of 1787 was submitted to the several states for ratification or rejection, opposition of the most emphatic character suddenly developed in some of the states, particularly in Virginia and Massachusetts, whose representatives had actually participated in the labors of the Convention which had produced the very document itself. Patrick Henry, whose liberty speech had been declaimed by every school boy in America, was now exclaiming, "Give me liberty or give me death, but not the Constitution of '87." He declared it would be dangerous to the liberties of the people. Among other alleged defects, he professed to see unlimited opportunities for the country to slide into a monarchy by reason of the lack of check on the President's power to perpetuate himself in office, the instrument not limiting the President to any one or more terms. In addition to his splendid powers of oratory, Henry had the faculty of making the arguments of his opponents to appear, not

only weak, but utterly illogical and founded on false premises. It was only after Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Jay, and many others, including John Marshall, had either spoken or written in favor of its adoption, and had clearly proven that the arguments of Henry and his associates were unsound, that Virginia ratified the Constitution by a majority of ten votes.

It was a wonderful debate—the most splendid intellectual contest of which any country or age has a record—worthy the men, worthy the occasion. Demosthenes, the echo of whose eloquence, it is said, is still heard among the ruins of the Parthenon, had no such audience or such a cause. He spoke for himself, his glory alone was his theme. Cicero thundered at Catiline, a dangerous conspirator, whose expulsion from Rome he demanded and finally succeeded in securing. Burke fell into the arms of a friend when he had finished his indictment of Hastings; but the indictment failed in the end. How trivial

were they all when compared with the question: "Shall the United States of America be established under a Constitution, limiting and defining the powers of her President and Congress, and yet preserving to each State her own Constitution, limiting and defining the powers of her Governor and Legislature, neither to be in conflict with the other, but all to operate in harmony to promote the prosperity and happiness of the whole people?"

From the dawn of civilization, no such question or proposition had ever before been presented to the consideration and judgment of an intelligent people. It was no wonder that a diversity of opinion developed at an early stage; it was an excellent thing to happen; it excited the widest discussion. Indeed it might with the utmost propriety be said that the entire period of debate was the one supreme "psychological moment" of the American people, being grandly improved by their ablest representatives; for when that discussion was ended and the Constitution

finally adopted, every provision of that instrument was perfectly known to every man, woman and child in the land, who could read the English language.

The new government was quickly organized. The Chief Executive had no opposition. Who but Washington for President? And who but Adams for Vice-President? But the President must have a Cabinet. He gave to General Knox the portfolio of War; to Jefferson the portfolio of State. But now was the difficulty—to whom should he assign the post of Secretary of the Treasury? At the time it was considered the most important and responsible of all. So much depended upon the administration of the duties of that office that the entire question, not only as to whether the Ship of State could be made to float to sea, but whether, after getting there, she could keep her course, would be largely in the keeping of the man whom the President should appoint to that position. Was there such

a man? Yes. Who? Alexander Hamilton. Then occurred the one supreme "psychological moment" in Washington's life, and which he promptly improved by offering the position to Hamilton; and if ever there was a "psychological moment" in Hamilton's life which he promptly improved, it was when he immediately accepted the appointment.

Who was ALEXANDER HAMILTON? He was a man of such intellectual stature that Jefferson alone could reach him. He was a man of such brilliant oratorical power that Adams alone could match him. He was a man of such far-seeing vision, such accuracy of apprehension of the financial needs of the new government, and of such incorruptible integrity, that Washington alone might surpass him.

Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton! Shall we ever see their superiors in all that constitutes true greatness?

The Ship seems destined to a prosperous voyage; it sails proudly out to sea. It finds its area of operation suddenly doubled by the fortunate purchase of what was known as the Louisiana territory, a stroke of good luck or possibly of brilliant statesmanship on the part of President Jefferson to whom the credit is generally given, although according to Mr. Jefferson himself the credit belongs quite as much to his two commissioners, James Monroe and Robert R. Livingston, through whose consummate tact and skill the negotiations for its acquisition were conducted and concluded, and the territory actually ceded to the United States by Napoleon himself, the arch-genius of France.

In 1823 James Monroe, as President of the United States, acting under the inspiration of the occasion, in a message to Congress, his truly "psychological moment," was destined to achieve a fame quite equal, if not superior to that which

he achieved as a commissioner in the purchase of the Louisiana territory, by his declaration of the principle that has come to be known as the "Monroe Doctrine," a doctrine or principle that as it was not the policy or purpose of the United States to interfere in the affairs of the European governments, such governments should not interfere in the affairs of the American governments, whether of North or South America, "and that any attempt on the part of European powers to extend their systems on this continent, or any interference to oppress, or in any manner to control the destiny of, governments whose independence had been acknowledged by the United States, would be regarded as a manifestation of an unfriendly feeling toward this government, and would be treated accordingly,"—a doctrine to which our government is so completely and unreservedly committed that any violation of the same on the part of any foreign government or power would arouse at once such a universal chorus of protest, that a million of arms

on a moment's notice would rush to vindicate its wisdom, justice and authority. And it is only proper to say that no European power has ever violated or attempted to violate this doctrine, either directly or indirectly, either in letter or in spirit, except once, when our government was in the throes of civil war and Mexico in a state of anarchy. This was in 1863, when Louis Napoleon, Emperor of France, taking advantage of the situation, yielding to pressure from certain Mexican notables, members of the conservative party, who had appealed to him to send over a ruler and restore Mexico to an orderly government, permitted the ill-fated Maximilian, an Austrian archduke, to assume the reins of the Mexican government in 1864. But the Mexican liberal party, being in the majority, repudiated his authority and right to rule, and finally after a warfare of three years, Maximilian (who in the meantime had been left to himself, Napoleon having withdrawn from the enterprise upon the peremptory request of the United States), was overwhelm-

ingly defeated, taken prisoner, tried by court-martial, found guilty and put to death. Thus ended in a miserable fiasco the attempt on the part of Louis Napoleon to establish a monarchy over, or to control the government or destiny of Mexico, a part of the western continent, in violation of the "Monroe Doctrine,"—a violation of the principle of non-interference in American affairs which cannot be committed even in spirit, without bringing upon the culprit the punishment his conduct deserves.

Thus did James Monroe, by a proper appreciation of his duty to his country as its President, and with the conviction and courage of an American statesman, win an immortality of fame as a patriot; and his message to Congress in which he made this epochal declaration is or ought to be placed forever by the side of the Declaration of American Independence.

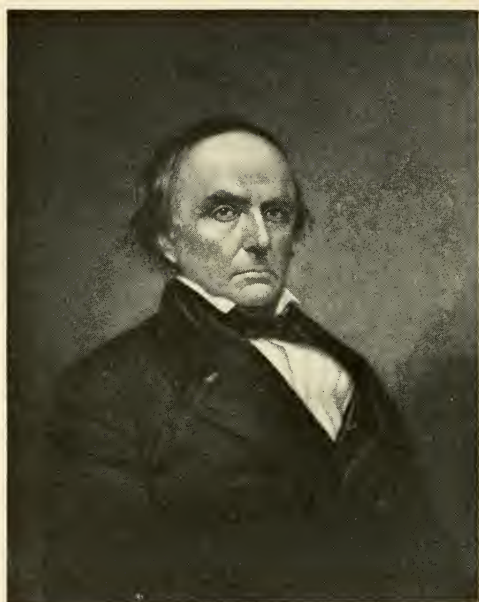
But at length a storm arises; it grows in volume and strength; it threatens the Ship of State. Who will save it? All

hopes seem to center in one man—DANIEL WEBSTER. Would you like to know him? Emerson's pen-picture of the great man is a faithful likeness, showing the spectacle of a human idol witnessing the people at his feet; and then the idol gradually turning into clay, with scarcely a worshiper to be seen.

Vol. I, Emerson's Journal, p. 175: "Webster was chosen representative to Congress by a majority of 1,078 votes this morning, November 4, 1822."

Vol. II, p. 295: "Read with admiration and delight Mr. Webster's noble speech in answer to Hayne. What consciousness of political rectitude, and what confidence in his intellectual treasures must he have to enable him to take this master's tone. The beauty and dignity of the spectacle he exhibits should teach men the beauty and dignity of *principles*."

Vol. III, p. 471: "Daniel Webster,



Nature's own child, sat there [at Lexington] all day, and drew all eyes."

Vol. V, p. 243: "With those devouring eyes, with that portraying hand, Carlyle has seen Webster."

Vol. VI, p. 341: "His external advantages are very rare and admirable; his noble and majestic frame, his breadth and projection of brows, his coal-black hair, his great cinderous eyes, his perfect self-possession, and the rich and well-modulated thunder (to which I used to listen, sometimes, abstracting myself from his sense merely for the luxury of such noble explosions of sound) distinguish him from all other men. In a million you would single him out. . . . He has misused the opportunity of making himself the darling of the American people in all coming time by abstaining from putting himself at the head of the Anti-Slavery interest, by standing for New England.

. . . He is intellect applied to affairs.
He is the greatest of lawyers."

Vol. VIII, p. 45: "It is true that Webster has never done anything up to the promise of his faculties. He is unmistakably able, and might have ruled America, but he was cowardly, and has spent his life in specialties. When shall we see as rich a vase again?"

Vol. VIII, p. 182: "Pho! Let Mr. Webster, for decency's sake, shut his lips once and forever on this word. The word *liberty* in the mouth of Mr. Webster sounds like the word *love* in the mouth of a courtesan."

Vol. VIII, p. 216: "Webster's absence of moral faculty is degrading to the country."

Only one more quotation from that painstaking Journal. Mr. Webster is dead. Mr. Emerson seems to see something in the distance, which gradually

assumes, though imperfectly, the godlike proportions of his once great idol.

Vol. VIII, p. 335: "Last Sunday I was at Plymouth on the beach, and looked across the hazy water—to Marshfield. I supposed Webster must have passed away, as indeed he had died at three in the morning. . . . Nature had not in our days, or not since Napoleon, cut out such a masterpiece. He was a man *in equilibrio* . . . 'Os, oculosque Jovi par.' . . . But alas! He was the victim of his ambition; to please the South betrayed the North, and was thrown out by both."

Nevertheless, this was the mighty man who had saved the Ship when the great storm arose thirty years before. What had he done to alienate the friendship of the Sage of Concord, as well as the friendship of multitudes of his Northern friends? What had he done? He had simply added another proof to what was already incontestable, that no man is so

great as to be all greatness; that no man can be so perfect as to be all perfection. He had been the superman of the North, and the North wanted him to remain such. It did not consider that a man of such superlative greatness would naturally some day wish to become President, and that to become such he must make himself available as a candidate. He became a candidate; and as such he deemed it prudent to set his house in order, to build his political fences, and to do such other things as a candidate usually finds it necessary or expedient to do to make himself acceptable to his party.

But Mr. Webster, while the greatest of statesmen, was one of the poorest of politicians. Had he been less of a statesman and more of a politician, he would have seen absolute death to all his aspirations for the Presidency in any support he might be induced to give to those radical compromise measures of Mr. Clay in 1850. Whether Mr. Clay intended those measures as a trap to Mr. Webster, or whether they reflected his honest judgment and

convictions, it is certain that Mr. Webster, by his support of those measures in his so-called "Seventh of March speech," whatever the impression he might have made in the minds of the Southern people, quite obliterated the impression of his availability as a candidate from the minds of his Northern friends, at least from the minds of the majority of his friends.

What then is availability? It is sometimes claimed that to be available, the candidate is not necessarily required to possess an extraordinary intelligence, but only a respectable amount, supplemented by an agreeable character, willing to take orders from his party chiefs. But, if the history of political conventions, and especially the history of the Presidents themselves, furnish any guide to the actual requirements of the office, such a conception of availability is almost wholly without authority or support. On the contrary, with rare exceptions, the successful candidate was distinguished, not only by his splendid intelligence, but by his

splendid courage and strength of character.

The examples are plentiful.

Washington was so evenly balanced in all his characteristics that he might properly be said to stand alone.

Adams was a man of such solid qualifications that he naturally became the successor of Washington.

Jefferson's learning and brilliant attainments were almost as universal as Francis Bacon's.

Madison was a man of such masterful abilities that he barely escaped being a genius. Besides, he has the reputation of being the "Father of the Constitution." What greater honor could a man achieve?

Monroe's passport to fame was not alone his connection with the purchase of the Louisiana territory, but his immortal declaration of "The Monroe Doctrine."

Jackson, while possessing considerable intelligence, and a wonderful reputation as a warrior, was likewise possessed of a character for firmness that had its counterpart mostly in steel or brass.

Lincoln's learning, while not universal, was yet of such a character as to make him a national figure. He was greatly distinguished as a logician as well as a statesman; and his speeches were composed in such elegant English that they were taken by the universities as models of grace and style.

Grant's unparalleled military achievements, rare common sense, and splendid patriotism served him well during the eight years he was the occupant of the White House.

Garfield, cut down by an assassin, had but little opportunity to show his peculiar aptitude for that office; but his long experience in the House of Representatives had already given him a national reputation as a statesman, orator and patriot.

Cleveland left the presidential chair with such distinction as a statesman, such honor as a patriot, and such renown for his ability as Chief Magistrate that after an interval of four years he was again elected to that office, succeeding Benja-

min Harrison, a very great lawyer and a wise and prudent executive.

McKinley was probably the most lovable man that was ever elected President. His pre-eminent fitness for that office was never disputed. He did not enter the Spanish-Cuban war quite as quickly as some critics desired, but when he did, the blow which he struck ended forever the tyranny of Spain in the western world.

Roosevelt was a man something like Washington,—standing practically by himself. His exceeding intelligence, his almost superhuman achievements as President, soldier, hunter, and in every capacity in which he acted, lift him high among the illustrious Americans. His fame must ever grow brighter as the years roll around.

Mr. Taft, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Harding are still among the living. The versatility of Mr. Taft, with his record of office-holding, including his present office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, make him a world figure.

Mr. Wilson is hard to characterize. At

one time he had the world at his feet. Whether he will ever see it there again time only can tell. But for strength of intelligence, masterful ability as a writer and speaker and for comprehensive and enlightened statesmanship, he has few equals and hardly a superior.

Mr. Harding is the admiration of all. His superior mental endowments, his fine personality, his constant desire that his country shall not fail in the performance of all her obligations, fit him in an eminent degree for the office of Chief Magistrate. He has supreme control of himself, and is exceedingly popular with the people. His "psychological moments" have been many, and history will say of him that he was not disobedient to any.

What then is availability? Not wealth of intelligence alone, nor magnitude of services as a statesman alone; but wealth of intelligence, supplemented by a character so strong that under no circumstances will its possessor compromise or consent to a compromise with principle,

even for a moment. Mr. Webster had, in the opinion of his Northern friends, compromised with principle, and his availability as a candidate was at an end.

But, however fatal may have been his "Seventh of March speech" to his presidential aspirations in 1850, he is forever entitled to the gratitude and affections of the American people for his inestimable service to the nation, when, thirty years before, standing in the United States Senate, clearly the most distinguished figure in public life, whether in this or in any other land, he proceeded to unfold, in his reply to Hayne, the true principles upon which this nation was organized, demonstrating with a wealth of argument and illustration not only the indissolubility of the American Union, but the essential unsoundness of the doctrine that the United States was simply a compact between or among the states, and not a compact by and among all the people of the United States. If the Union was simply a compact by and among the

several states, then the Union was simply a rope of sand, dissolvable at the will of the states, or of any one of the states. The American Union was not the creation of the states, but the creation of all the people of all the states, and therefore the United States must of necessity be superior to any of the states in sovereignty and authority as to any and all of the powers expressed or implied in the Constitution of the American Union. It was a wonderful argument, made by the greatest lawyer, orator and statesman in the land. An extended analysis would be inappropriate as well as impossible here. It deserves to be studied, not only by the lawyer and jurist, but by the student of history as well.

If was, of course, a great occasion, just such an opportunity or "psychological moment" as Mr. Webster needed for the display of his marvelous ability as a constitutional lawyer. Mr. Hayne himself was a strong antagonist and a brilliant debater. His skill in the statement of

legal propositions was only surpassed by that of Mr. Webster himself. Both improved the occasion to the uttermost, and their names and fame are a part of the heritage of the American people.

What, then, becomes of the proposition, so zealously advocated by a certain class of statesmen or would-be statesmen, that a League of Nations could be effectively formed without a compact by and among all the people of the confederating nations, but by simply a compact among the said nations themselves? Would not such a League be wholly ineffective, a mere rope of sand, as Mr. Webster clearly proved? If, however, it is proposed to form a League upon the plan of the American Union, a Union which is superior in sovereignty, power and authority to any of the nations entering into it, as to the purposes of the League to be expressed in its Constitution, then it is manifest that such a League cannot be effectively formed without a compact by and among all the people of the several

nations proposing to form a League. The American Union, made up of many states, was effectively formed in a way that gave to the Union a power and sovereignty superior to any of the states as to the powers expressed or necessarily implied in the Constitution of the Union. As to those powers expressed or necessarily implied each state was subordinate and obliged to yield to the superior sovereignty of the nation. How otherwise could the nation exist as a nation? How otherwise could a League of Nations exist for a moment? Mr. Webster clearly demonstrated that if the American Union was simply the creation of the states, then it was nothing more than an emotional Union, dissolvable at the will of the states or of any of the states, existing only so long as all of the states deemed it in harmony with their emotions or will.

Of course, the controversy does not and cannot center upon any such League as that, but rather upon how an effective League can be formed by a lawful delegation of power by or from any of the

several nations which should unite to form a League. So far as the United States is concerned, her Constitution contains no power to delegate power for the creation of a League of Nations. She may enter into treaties with other nations in the manner provided in the Constitution. A League of Nations, however, is not a treaty, but the creation of a super-nation; for that is just what a League of Nations would have to be in order to have any jurisdiction, power or authority superior to any of the nations entering into it as to any of the powers expressed in its Constitution or agreement to form a League. If, therefore, the United States has no power to enter into a League of Nations, by virtue of its powers as expressed in the Constitution, then to enable it to do so, it is evident that the Constitution itself would have to be amended, either in such a way as to have the whole controversy settled by a direct vote of the people, or by an amendment that would enable the President or Senate, or both the President and Senate, to aid in the creation

of such a League in the manner provided by the amendment.

In the event of such a League being formed in such a manner, so far as the United States is concerned, what would be the result? Would not the United States necessarily assume precisely the same relations to the League as each of the states of the American Union assumes to the Union itself? Her position in the League would be one of subordination to the League; and to that extent, or to the extent of the powers she had granted, she would be inferior to the League, both in sovereignty and authority; and necessarily so, because she would have so agreed when her Constitution was amended for that purpose.

A nation has power, inherent power, to protect itself against invasion, insurrection or rebellion; in other words, it has the inherent power to protect itself from destruction. But has it the power to amend its Constitution in such a manner as to change or transform the nation into some other kind of nation, wholly

different from that which was expressed in its Constitution before such an amendment? A nation supreme in its sovereignty, authority and independence manifestly cannot vote away any part of such sovereignty, authority and independence, however small the part, without diminishing its sovereignty and supremacy to the extent voted away. And to the extent voted away, or to the extent expressed in the Constitution of the League, does it not necessarily acknowledge the superior sovereignty, authority and power of the League?

In case of any conflict between the League and any one or more nations forming the League, who is to settle the controversy? If the controversy should be between the League and the United States, would the Supreme Court of the United States have jurisdiction of the subject-matter? Of course not. That question was settled by Mr. Webster beyond all possibility of doubt. His reply to Hayne established the principle that when a conflict arose between a state and

the nation as to whether a state was bound to obey an act of Congress, the nation was superior to the state (assuming, of course, that the Congress had exercised or had attempted to exercise no power not expressed in the Constitution of the Union, and further assuming that the Act of Congress had been declared to be constitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States). Would not the same principle apply between a League of Nations and any one of its states in case of a conflict between them?

The United States should be proud of herself today, standing as a beacon light to all the other nations in the world. If she ever enters into a League of Nations, let it be done in such a manner that no possible harm can come either to her people or institutions in the least degree. But we stand with Webster, who, while demonstrating the indissolubility of the American Union as then existent under its Constitution, unconsciously demonstrated the impracticability of that Union ever entering into a League of Nations.

But Webster was yet alive when HARRIET BEECHER STOWE began her radiant career as a writer and social reformer, playing a part in the drama of the nation in a manner so noble as to constitute an epoch, one of the most brilliant in the political as well as in the literary history of the United States. In culture, character and depth of human sympathy, her whole life was in perfect accord with the ideals of that celebrated family of which she was a member, being the daughter of Dr. Lyman S. Beecher, an eminent divine, and sister of the world-renowned orator and minister, Henry Ward Beecher.

The spectacle of a human slave on American soil was an anomaly to this gifted woman. The institution which could claim absolute power over a human being was reconcilable neither to her conscience nor to the purposes of God, and she resolved to give it a blow, and to its death, if she could. Her "psychological moment" was one of the brightest that ever flashed upon the mind of woman or man in the revelation of the exceptional



work she was required to do, and to which she was instantly obedient. She wrote a book, called "Uncle Tom's Cabin," so charming in style, so entrancing in interest, so thrilling in deed, so varied in character, so full of the tenderest pathos and feeling, so sparkling with humor, and withal so dramatic in action, that its fame, even at the present time, is almost as great as when it first appeared three quarters of a century ago. Translated into every known language, and exhibited upon the stage to countless millions of people, at home and abroad, the story of Uncle Tom and Little Eva, and all the other characters in that matchless book, seems destined to endure, if not forever, at least for ages yet to come.

What a fame! What a glory! Fadeless, deathless, eternal! Mrs. Stowe wrought a most splendid service to the nation. Her book exercised a tremendous influence for good. But it did not of itself accomplish the purpose of the book. That event took place just eleven years after it first saw the light. The stroke was

made by a still mightier pen, by a still mightier soul; but the stroke was easier by reason of the labors of this wonderful woman, who is entitled to rank among the illustrious dead.

And now we come to another great woman, another great American, one of the greatest of her sex, one whose "psychological moment" was quite as luminous and certain as Mrs. Stowe's—ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, the pioneer, leader, peerless orator and advocate of that popular, heroic, nation-wide movement known as "Woman's Rights." While Mrs. Stowe with her magical pen was enlisting thousands of eloquent voices to aid in the work in which she was engaged while writing and publishing in serial form the story of "Uncle Tom," Mrs. Stanton with her magical voice was enlisting thousands of eloquent pens, perhaps none more effective than Susan B. Anthony's, to aid in the work in which she was engaged—the emancipation of

woman. Each believed in the righteousness of her cause, and labored to bring it to pass with a fidelity unsurpassed in the history of mankind.

Mrs. Stanton did not, like Mrs. Stowe, live to see the triumph of her cause; but had her splendid life been spared a few years longer she would have realized the fruition of her hopes and ambitions to the very limit of her dreams, not only crystallized and secured in the form of an amendment to the Constitution, but for her crowning joy she would have seen brilliant representatives of her sex actually sitting in the seats of the mighty, performing their duties as lawmakers with the utmost dignity and success.

It probably would serve no useful purpose to enter upon any extended comparison of the respective merits of the two causes in which these two extraordinary women were engaged, not including the miscellaneous writings of Mrs. Stowe, outside of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It

might be said, however, that "as one star differs from another star in glory," so differs the character of the work each performed. To lift up the one upon whom Nature herself had seemed to place her mark of inferiority and bondage, appeared to be a task too herculean for human achievement, too difficult and fanciful for serious endeavor. And yet the bondman became the freedman, the freeman and the citizen, to the imperishable glory of the nation whose corner-stone was and is the Declaration of American Independence.

But "Woman's Rights,"—what were they? If *natural to man*, a proper qualification, then why not natural to woman? Of course, they are natural neither to man nor woman, being purely artificial, man-made, that is all. Why, then, was woman deprived of these rights, though artificial they may be? The answer is not difficult. Way back in the dim, dark ages of antiquity, man, being the stronger, assumed as his natural prerogative the

right to leadership, the right to rule, looking upon woman, who was the weaker, as his inferior, and treating her as such. This is easily understandable. But the curious thing is, the mystical and puzzling thing, that man, the American, after emerging from his primitive state, after becoming more and more enlightened, after acquiring wisdom by experience and education, after the completest evidence of "woman's rights" had been established a thousand times or more, should still stand by that ancient classification, yielding at last only when by withholding them further he would convict himself not only of an arbitrary exercise of power, but of arbitrarily and knowingly continuing a manifest wrong.

Thus within the memory of many who are now living, two of the most extraordinary, significant and epoch-making events have occurred within the United States,—the extinction of slavery and the enfranchisement of woman—contributions to a civilization the highest yet achieved, and

extending far beyond the borders of our own republic.

And yet, strange as it may appear, certain writers and historians apparently take the greatest delight in referring to Greece, either as the repository of all human greatness or as the source from which all human greatness has sprung. Even so eminent a jurist as the late Sir Henry Sumner Maine, once wrote: "Except the blind forces of nature, there is nothing that moves in the world today that is not Greek in origin."

A beautiful tribute, but manifestly too broad. Take religion for instance. Is it a blind force of nature, or one of the most intense of spiritual forces? Is there anything in the literature of Greece that corresponds to the Hebrew conception of the Deity or to its ceremonial worship of the one God? Would it be strictly historical to say that the Christian religion had its origin in Greece? Why, when St. Paul spoke to the Athenians of "the resurrection of the dead, some mocked: and

others said, We will hear thee again of this matter."

Equally unfortunate is the statement when applied to the political affairs of Greece. It never occurred to her wisest statesman, either when Athens or when Sparta was supreme, that the Commonwealth could be improved, or be made to gain in power, dignity or in the happiness of her people, by the extinction of slavery or the elevation of woman to political equality with man. As a result one-fourth of her people were kept in bondage, and the woman who was not a slave was the chattel of her husband or father. In vain do we look through the laws of Lycurgus, of Solon or of Pericles for even a suggestion of that broad and humane principle of statesmanship which guarantees to all citizens absolute equality of civil and political rights, with a corresponding obligation of the government to protect each and all citizens in the exercise of those rights.

The Greek was never at his best as a statesman, even when the civilization and

culture of Greece were in their meridian splendor, which was about five hundred years before the dawn of the Christian era. He was rather at his best when, with chisel or brush, he was carving a statue or painting a figure, gradually conforming it to an intellectual conception of physical beauty, not surpassed, or even equalled, to this day. Or, when competing in the building of a glorious tragedy, using his language as a tool, polishing and developing it to such a degree of perfection that it became and still is the unrivalled medium for the expression of thought, however sublime the image or delicate the idea. And in the realms of philosophy and speculation, no country can present greater names than those of Socrates and Plato. But in the conception, development and application of those broad, humane and enlightened principles of constructive statesmanship to a representative form of government, such as we have in the United States, the American statesman stands pre-eminent.

But however glorious the services of Mrs. Stowe and her co-laborers in behalf of universal freedom, the Temple of Liberty was, even so late as 1860, still left with the flaw which it bore when she first put forth her famous book. Who was to remove the flaw? Who was to perfect the Temple? Who was to put it into that condition conceived by Jefferson so as to make it establish the purposes of the Declaration of Independence, among them the freedom of all men, and their absolute equality before the law? The time was coming when such a service had to be rendered or the Temple would be split from top to bottom.

When a great personage is needed, Providence, it seems, supplies the need. Out in Illinois was a man not disobedient to his spiritual vision, obeying his "psychological moment" to the very letter. He was telling a big man by the name of Douglas, and the people of his state and the people of the whole nation, that "a house divided against itself cannot stand; a nation half slave and half free cannot endure."

These were divine truths. The people of his state listened. The nation listened. He was made President of the United States. He put an end to a four years' war. He put an end to slavery. He became the greatest man in the nation. He was honored by the whole world. Countless multitudes bowed their heads and wept when informed that he was dead. His portrait illumines the stateliest as well as the humblest of homes. It decorates every art gallery in America. It hangs with that of Washington in the leading galleries of Europe. His name is an inspiration to the old and to the young, to every aspiring youth, to every down-trodden soul; an encouragement to the poor, the humble; a check upon the proud, the haughty; a prophecy and fulfillment of what a man may become when his boyhood is ennobled with work and a desire to improve and become useful and great, and in his maturity he continues to strive after his ideals with perseverance to the end.

What name in the Temple of Fame is



the highest of all? Is it not the name of ABRAHAM LINCOLN?

We deem it a fitting close to these "Psychological Moments" to quote the beautiful tribute paid to the great Emancipator, of whom it might be said, as Jonson said of Shakespeare:

"He was not of an age, but for all time."

by the late Henry W. Grady, a brilliant son of Georgia, a peerless orator and editor, the idol of his state, the pride of the nation, a splendid example of the genius and aspirations of his people, a noble witness of the grandeur of the achievements of the American statesman, and of the American soldier, rejoicing in his citizenship in an indissoluble Union of indestructible States, at the annual dinner of the New England Society, held in New York City on the evening of December 12, 1886—his truly "psychological mo-

ment"—when he spoke, in part, as follows:

“Let me tell you that the typical American has already come. Great types, like valuable plants, are slow to flower and fruit. But from the union of these Colonies, Puritans and Cavaliers, from the straightening of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, slow perfecting through a century, came he who stands as the first typical American, the first who comprehended within himself all the strength and gentleness, all the majesty and grace of this Republic:—Abraham Lincoln. He was the sum of Puritan and Cavalier, for in his ardent nature were found the virtues of both, and in the depths of his great soul the faults of both were lost. He was greater than Puritan, greater than Cavalier, in that he was American, and that in his honest form were first gathered the vast and thrilling forces of his ideal government, charging it with such tremendous mean-

ing, and so elevating it above human suffering, that martyrdom, though infamously aimed, came as a fitting crown to a life consecrated from the cradle to human liberty. Let us, each cherishing the traditions and honoring his fathers, build with reverent hands to the type of this simple but sublime life, and in our common glory as Americans there will be plenty and to spare for your forefathers and for mine."

Three years later Henry W. Grady, at the age of thirty-eight, was himself numbered among the illustrious dead.

